

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY PROGRAMS
UTILIZING THE BUSING METHOD

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The School of Graduate Studies
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by
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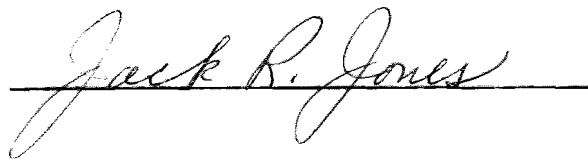
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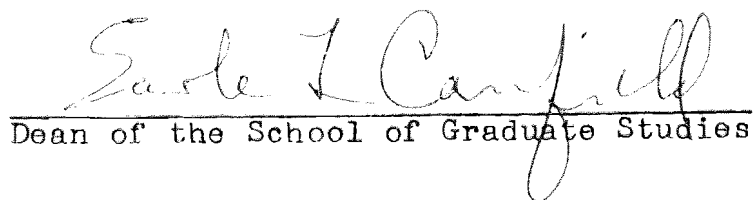
by

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A fundamental American belief expressed in the Constitution of the United States is that all men are created equal and entitled to the same opportunity without regard to race, religion, or national origin. The public school is a unique institution created specifically to implement this belief.

The American Negro represents the greatest challenge to the equal opportunity concept. As educational institutions were set up in the states where slavery formerly flourished a complete separation of the races was maintained with the belief that an equal educational opportunity was being provided for the Negro child.

In 1954, the United States Supreme Court concluded that "in the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place."¹ The court's additional school desegregation decisions and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 ruled against school districts operating legally enforced segregated schools.

¹School Racial Policy, Booklet prepared by the American Association of School Administrators Special Commission (Washington: American Association of School Administrators, 1966), pp. 11-14.

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In the North, racial discrimination in job opportunities and housing together with neighborhood school plans created a de facto segregation of Negro students which proved to be just as detrimental as the legally enforced segregated conditions which existed in the South. A 1967 report by the United States Civil Rights Commission delineated the problems caused by de facto segregation--segregation caused by living patterns in many Northern cities. The report stated that no school should have more than fifty per cent enrollment of Negro students because of the possible educational handicaps that might result.¹

To comply with federal laws, all school districts in violation were required to adopt desegregation plans. Some featured changes in attendance areas while others emphasized compensatory education. The most controversial approach utilized was the busing of children from urban areas to suburban communities and in the reverse direction.

I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem and hypothesis. The public school is a unique American institution created specifically to provide an equal educational opportunity for all children. De facto segregation, present in many school districts, is a current obstacle to the full realization of this principle.

¹Ibid.

The purpose of this field report was to determine the extent to which equal educational opportunity programs in Midwestern school districts utilized a busing plan to achieve racial balance.

Because of segregated housing patterns, limited occupational opportunities for black Americans, and the United States Supreme Court's decision, it was hypothesized that most school districts would utilize a student transportation or busing plan in order to immediately create a more favorable racial balance and improved educational opportunity.

Importance of the study. The Supreme Court's decision provided a mandate for educators to initiate equal educational opportunity programs as soon as possible. The recent riots in many of the large cities were an expression of the hopelessness and despair which developed in individuals who were not prepared to compete in the mainstream of American life. Racism, hatred and apathy were also caused by the lack of beneficial interracial experiences which integrated schools would provide.

Assumptions and limitations. It was assumed that all of the school districts accepted the federal mandate to provide equal educational opportunity programs. It was further assumed that these school districts had sufficient local resources and equal access to federal and state aid in order to implement their programs.

The study was limited in its application to medium

size school districts of the North where de facto segregation rather than legally imposed separation of the races was operative.

II. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Neighborhood school. Neighborhood school refers to a plan where children are required to attend the school nearest their home.

De facto segregation. De facto segregation is the term used when there is a greater or substantial number of black pupils enrolled in any one school.

School pairing. School pairing refers to the attendance areas of two or more schools that are merged and grades are regrouped so that each school serves different grade levels for the area.

Magnet school. Magnet school refers to a school offering full-time programs or supplementary training, and which draws students from a wide geographical area because of unusual curricula meeting special needs.

Free-choice open enrollment. Free-choice open enrollment is a plan where children in overcrowded or racial minority schools are eligible to attend any school within the system that has classroom space available.

Central school. Central school is one school, perhaps predominantly Negro, is converted to handle only one grade, receiving pupils at that level from several nearby schools and sending away its students at other grade levels.

Busing. Busing (spelled with one 's') has come to mean the transporting of pupils from one school to another as a means of alleviating de facto segregation.

Cross-busing. Cross-busing is when black students are bused from inner city to suburban schools and white students are transported from suburban to inner city schools.

Sending schools. Sending schools are those from which black children leave to attend another school.

Receiving schools. Receiving schools are those into which black children are transported.

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CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A survey of the literature was made to obtain information pertaining to the issue of busing, its problems and successes, as a means of alleviating de facto segregation. Some twenty-five articles were found in the educational journals which dealt with the busing issue. Practically all of the articles were written after 1967 when the United States Civil Rights Commission's Report brought to national attention the educational handicap which resulted from de facto segregation in many Northern cities. Because of the sensitive nature of this issue and its tremendous news appeal, a great deal of useful information was found in newspapers and telecasts. The materials selected for this review were grouped into the following categories: Policy Formation, Attitude Development and Program Prototypes.

I. POLICY FORMATION

The Supreme Court decision of 1954 and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 constituted the two most significant documents in presenting the federal government's policy prohibiting legally enforced or de facto segregation in public school systems. The former resulted from a series of test cases developed in the South by lawyers from the National Association

for the Advancement of Colored People;¹ the latter occurred in the wake of numerous civil rights demonstrations across the nation which culminated as the massive non-violent march on Washington in 1963.² The Civil Rights Act provided that no school district could receive federal aid if any evidence of racial discrimination existed. Federal officials were prohibited, however, from prescribing methods for achieving racial balance in the schools.

In 1965, the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association of the United States and the American Association of School Administrators developed an extensive policy statement entitled: "American Education and the Search for Equal Opportunity."³ In the policy statement, the commission acknowledged the failure of our public schools in providing equal educational opportunity to the disadvantaged and the American Negro. The principle of "compensation" was seen as fundamental in the education of the disadvantaged child and adult. Compensatory programs beginning with the pre-school child and carrying through

¹School Racial Policy, Booklet prepared by the American Association of School Administrators Special Commission (Washington: American Association of School Administrators, 1966), pp. 11-14.

²Ibid.

³American Education and the Search for Equal Opportunity, A Report Prepared by the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association of the United States (Washington: Number: 65-24480, 1965), pp. 34-36.

adulthood with continuing education were offered as a means of overcoming these problems. The education of teachers of the disadvantaged and the development of school-community relations programs were viewed as essential in order to help the disadvantaged child. Additional policy statements issued by the commission were:

1. Where de facto segregation exists, intensive efforts should be made to desegregate the schools.
2. Provisions should be made in every school, preferably with pupils and parents participating in the planning for extensive intercultural activities.
3. Interracial experiences should be provided even in places where the population of an entire school district is of one race.
4. Where it is impossible to put all children in a desegregated situation, that goal should still be sought for as many as possible.
5. School staffs should be racially integrated.
6. The Commission supported transportation of pupils of different races, if needed, in order to create opportunities for beneficial interracial experiences.¹

In addition to the above policy statement, the American Association of School Administrators issued a separate but complementary report in 1966 entitled: "School Racial Policy."² This publication discussed the experience of school administrators in alleviating de facto segregation in urban and suburban school districts. The advantages and disadvantages of bus transportation, open enrollment, pupil assignment to secure balance in enrollment, shifting of school attendance boundaries, reorganization of grades and

¹Ibid., p. 36.

²School Racial Policy, op. cit., p. 44.

the school village were also discussed. The report emphasized that any of these plans would be helpful, however, there was no single policy or procedure or combination of operations that would do the job everywhere, or even in a single district over a period of years.

II. ATTITUDE DEVELOPMENT

The neighborhood school plan has been one of the most accepted customs in our public school system. Changing this plan by means of busing whether to alleviate de facto segregation in urban areas or to consolidate small rural school districts has led to a divided opinion among educators and parents alike. During an interview for the United States News and World Report Journal, Dr. James E. Allen, Jr., United States Commissioner of Education stated his views on busing:

Busing is a means to an end, and the end is a better education for all children. The only real justification for busing is to get a child safely to a better education than the one he otherwise might have. I happen to believe that an integrated situation is part of a good education. So I would say that if busing were the only way to bring about a good, integrated situation, then I would bus.¹

Dr. Allen's views were not shared by the majority of the nations school superintendents, teachers and school board members. An opinion poll conducted by the editorial

¹James E. Allen, Jr., United States Commissioner of Education, "Crisis in City Schools," U. S. News and World Report, (June 30, 1969), p. 34.

staff of the Nations School Journal, revealed that seventy-five per cent of school superintendents did not support busing for desegregation purposes, and felt that their views were representative of their communities' sentiment on the matter. Eighty-eight per cent of the administrators utilized busing programs but only three per cent of these were for desegregation purposes. A similar survey of school board members indicated that eighty-eight per cent were against busing as a means of integrating schools. Most of the board members favored giving parents the choice of allowing participation by their children in busing programs based on race, whereas the majority of school administrators did not favor giving parents this option.¹

A survey of the Nation's teachers by the National Education Association Research Division revealed that seventy-seven per cent were not in favor of busing between school systems to achieve racial balance. Of those teachers favoring busing, the majority preferred a mutual exchange of students rather than an unidirectional program. The opinions of urban, suburban and rural teachers did not differ significantly. Teachers in different regions of the country and in different size school systems also held similar opinions.²

¹"Nearly 3 of 4 Frown on Busing for Desegregation," School Administrators Opinion Poll, Nation's School, LXXXI (May, 1968), 88.

²"Bussing," Teacher Opinion Poll, National Education Association Research Division, LVII (March, 1969), 7.

The attitude of parents was even more divided than that among educators and varied from community to community. Lawrence T. Cagle, Professor of Sociology, Pennsylvania State University, studied parental attitudes in a medium sized Northern city where a busing program was instituted to alleviate de facto segregation. Host parents were concerned about whether or not the school's educational standards would fall; pupil adjustment problems due to strange surroundings; and problems which might result if a bused child became ill at school. Parents of bused black children were more concerned with technical problems rather than psychological ones, such as, what happens when a child misses his bus. An objective evaluation of the program failed to show evidence of harm to either the bused children or to children in the host school; and the performance standard of both groups were not changed significantly. The investigators felt that the remarks made by the host parents resulted from their basic feelings of rejection of the busing program.¹

In a series of interviews with inner-city parents whose children were bused to suburban schools, a staff member of Instructor Publications summarized their views in this manner:

They feel the experience has both benefits and drawbacks, but more than half of the mothers interviewed are against their child's continuing. Chief objections are the loneliness he feels, his isolation from his own group once he returns to the neighborhood, and failure of the total experience to build

¹L. T. Cagle, "School Bussing and Parental Anxiety," School and Society, LXXXI (January, 1969), 6.

his self-image. These parents feel that if integration is going to work it must be on a fifty-fifty basis with the school ideally balanced evenly between the two groups, so that inner-city children have equal opportunities with suburban pupils to register their presence in the power structure of the school.¹

The city of Charlotte, North Carolina, population 202,000 chose the busing method to integrate its legally segregated school system. The school board's initial plan called for a two-way busing program. However, massive opposition from white parents caused the school board to reverse its decision in favor of a one-way busing plan for transporting 4,200 black pupils to outlying white schools. Charlotte's Negroes planned a protest march, boycott of white merchants and civil disobedience in order to resist one way busing. Negro parents favored the two-way busing plan originally proposed by the school board.²

Chicago's school board, faced with a United States Office of Education threat to withhold funds, found itself openly divided in opinions over the busing issue. A pupil assignment procedure that placed the burden of initiating a transfer on the part of parents had been tried but failed due to poor participation. Hearings on the busing plan resulted in arguments between the school board members and served to polarize the white neighborhoods. The board

¹"Is Bussing the Answer?" Instructor, (October, 1969), 123.

²News item in the Des Moines Tribune, August 23, 1969.

reversed itself several times in an effort to compromise with the opposing citizens groups, but finally adopted a proposal which gave parents the option of withdrawing from the busing plan. Approximately 300 children were bused to eight Northwest side schools.¹

The Denver school board endorsed a compulsory busing plan in early 1969 which would have made a significant contribution towards improving racial balance. On May 20, 1969, voters elected to the school board, with the largest vote totals in the history of the Denver school board elections, two candidates who were for "neighborhood schools," and against "forced busing." At the next school board meeting, the compulsory busing plan was rescinded in favor of a voluntary plan. The newly elected board members contended that the election results indicated that two-thirds of the community opposed compulsory busing.²

III. PROGRAM PROTOTYPES

Jim Lesson, staff writer for the Southern Education Report, made a nation-wide review of busing programs utilized to implement desegregation plans. He found the following plans were most frequently used:

¹A. Cohades, "Chicago Board Vacillates, But Finally Agrees to Bus," Nation's School, LXXXI (April, 1968), 22.

²Charles Carter, "Integration Plan Dies, Forced Busing Rule Rescinded," Denver Post Newspaper, LXXVII (June 10, 1969), 1.

1. School Pairing--The attendance areas of two or more schools are merged and grades are re-grouped so that each school serves different grade levels for the new area.
2. Central Schools--One school, perhaps predominantly Negro, is converted to handle only one grade, receiving pupils at that level from several nearby schools and sending away its students at other grade levels.
3. School Closing--An old school with a racially imbalanced enrollment can be closed and its students sent to other schools.
4. Magnet Schools--Such a school, offering full-time programs or supplementary training, would draw students from a wide geographical area because of unusual curricula meeting special needs.
5. Education Complexes--A group of adjacent schools would be joined into one attendance area, with each building then offering courses in one curriculum area for several grades.
6. Education Parks--Clusters of new school facilities would be built to serve large numbers of children, perhaps a small city's entire school population.
7. Free-Choice Open Enrollment--Under this plan, children in overcrowded or racial minority schools are eligible to attend any school within the system that has classroom space available.¹

Community programs in Berkeley, California and Hartford, Connecticut were most often described as examples of outstanding busing programs. The Berkeley program was started in 1964 by Superintendent Neil V. Sullivan (presently Commissioner of Education for the state of Massachusetts).² This city of 120,000 population and twenty-five per cent Negro utilized the school pairing plan for desegregation

¹Jim Lesson, "Busing and Desegregation," Southern Education Report, IV (November, 1968), 16.

²Jim Lesson, "School Bus (Busing Program)," Southern Education Report, IV (December, 1968), 14.

purposes. From Kindergarten through third grade, schools in the predominately white neighborhoods of the hills section were used. From fourth through sixth grade, schools in the predominately Negro neighborhoods in the flatlands were used. Among the 9,000 elementary enrollment, approximately 2,000 white pupils and 2,000 black pupils crossed-bused each day to give each of the fourteen elementary schools in the district a Negro enrollment of thirty-five to forty-five per cent, near the forty-one per cent Negro composition of the total elementary enrollment. All of the students attended the same junior and senior high schools which were located in the middle of the city. A half-hour differential in starting time between the upper and lower elementary schools reduced the number of buses needed. Out of a total annual budget of twenty million, the busing program constituted less than three per cent. The Berkeley program has not only achieved racial balance, it has also been associated with a reduction in teacher turn-over and a reversal of the previous trend towards a decreasing Caucasian enrollment.¹

The busing method appeared to be the best way of integrating American schools according to Sullivan:

1. I say that it's possible to integrate without busing, but I don't know where one of those cities exists.
2. It's fair to all concerned. It's absolutely the best way to get to school. The fastest way and the most economical.

¹"Bussing Evaluated-From Hartford to Berkeley," Education U. S. A., (March 27, 1967), 181.

3. The most dangerous way is to walk to school and the second most dangerous way is to ride with mother in the family car. Traffic safety records will bear me out.
4. If you can provide education, people don't mind busing. Transportation does not become the problem. All they want at the end of the bus ride is quality education.¹

The Hartford program, known as Project Concern, began with the voluntary busing of 265 inter-city pupils in kindergarten through fifth grade to schools in five receiving suburbs. Over half of the students' families were on welfare and over two-thirds of the pupils in grades three to five had achievement profiles at the bottom of national norms.²

In 1967, one year after the busing program was started, a preliminary report showed that the students who were transferred to the suburbs clearly outperformed those who stayed in the city. The achievement occurred without lowering educational school standards or driving away white students, many of whom also made gains.³ The project has since been expanded to include 768 pupils who were bused from the inner-city to fourteen suburban towns. School officials in Hartford estimated the expense of busing one pupil and paying tuition to the suburban town totaled \$1,500 annually. The city was reimbursed for half of this expense by the state and federal

¹"Integration by Busing: Its Problems, Successes," The Des Moines Tribune, (Tuesday, October 7, 1969), p. 18.

²"Bussing Evaluated-From Hartford to Berkeley," Education U.S.A. (March 27, 1967), 181.

³Ibid.

government. Hartford's 1960 population was 162,178.¹ The project revealed that sociability was no problem since ninety per cent of the urban families took part in suburban parent school activities.²

SUMMARY

The review of the literature on desegregation plans utilizing the busing method revealed a paucity of articles in the standard educational journals. Except for a few papers such as those written by Jim Lesson and others, most of the material on this subject appeared in newspapers and telecasts. Information released from the mass media was selected for its newsworthiness and may not have been representative of the nation's school districts.

There is a great need for comprehensive, descriptive and evaluative reports of busing programs written by professional educators. There is also a need for determining to what extent such programs are being utilized throughout the country. Although this subject area has been in existence only a few years, sufficient time has lapsed for the appearance of descriptive articles and even a few evaluative reports in the educational literature. Other issues of a sensitive or controversial nature such as sex education in the schools have received adequate coverage in the educational literature.

Although the professional educational leadership at

¹Ibid.

²Ibid.

the national level endorsed busing as an acceptable method for achieving racial balance, the majority of the country's administrators and teachers did not support this view--and were opposed to busing. This opposition was not related to any geographical region of the country. School board members by and large opposed busing but preferred to be led by public opinion or pressure groups rather than make individual decisions on the issue. On the contrary, teachers preferred to have policy set by the school board and staff rather than by a vote of the public. Teachers also preferred participation in busing programs to be compulsory rather than optional. Parents, like the majority of teachers and school board members were generally opposed to busing. Reasons given by suburban parents for their opposition chiefly centered around a fear that the educational standards would be lowered to accommodate the disadvantaged children. Quality education was one of the main attractions for seeking suburban living. Parents of disadvantaged children generally favored cross-busing and opposed unidirectional busing. The former preserved the status, recognition and political power of the urban community as well as achieved higher quality education for their children.

The literature cited only a few desegregation plans utilizing the busing method. The two plans mentioned most often, Berkeley and Hartford, were carried out in cities under 200,000 population. One wonders whether or not busing programs have a better chance of success in cities of this size.

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CHAPTER III

I. METHODS AND PROCEDURES

In order to determine the types of equal educational opportunity programs utilizing the busing methods which were found in school districts where de facto segregation existed, it was necessary to study Northern school districts large enough to have de facto segregation problems and yet small enough so that the problems would have a fair chance of being solved.

Population and sample. The school districts studied consisted of those in states belonging to Regions VI and VII as designated by the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

The sample consisted of seventeen school districts selected from the states in these two Regions (Appendix A). Each district met the following criteria:

- A. Served a city of 100,000 to 500,000 total population.
- B. Had a Negro population between five and ten per cent of the total population.

Instrumentation. The research instrument consisted of an original questionnaire containing eighteen items (Appendix B). The questionnaire was designed to determine whether or not de facto segregation existed in the school districts and if a busing plan was utilized to achieve racial balance.

The research instrument was approved by three Drake University faculty members prior to use. It was then mailed along with an appropriate cover letter to the superintendent of each district included in the sample (Appendix C). A request for additional material describing the program was made. A self-addressed, stamped envelope was enclosed to facilitate the return of completed questionnaire.

II. REPORT OF QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

Eleven of the sixteen mailed questionnaires were returned during the first week; three additional ones were received the second week. A second mailing was made three weeks after the first and resulted in the return of one additional questionnaire. One local school district was visited for the purpose of completing the questionnaire and obtaining the reference materials. Thus, sixteen of the seventeen questionnaires were completed for a response rate of ninety-four per cent.

Twelve school districts utilized the neighborhood school plan; four did not. The total enrollment ranged from 12,000 to 70,000 students (Appendix D). The black student population of the school districts varied from fifty-five to 18,000. The questionnaire listing fifty-five black students may have been in error or may have been delivered to a school district outside the sample. De facto segregation existed in all of the surveyed school districts except the one having

only fifty-five black students. This determination was made on the basis of the existence of one or more elementary schools with a fifty per cent or more black enrollment. Six of the sixteen school districts utilized busing programs as a means of improving racial balance.

One program was initiated in 1966; two in 1967; two in 1968; one in 1969. The busing programs were called: "Elementary Redistricting Plan," "Equal Educational Opportunity Program," "Voluntary Transfer Plan," "Voluntary Special Transfer Program," and "Open Enrollment Program." All of the programs were developed as a result of de facto segregation. Their objectives were:

1. To remove racial imbalance in the schools.
2. To provide all children with greater knowledge and experience with cultures and ethnic groups other than their own.
3. To increase the achievement of children who live in neighborhoods where racial imbalance exists.

Five of the programs were funded locally. One was financed by the federal government. The transportation plan was voluntary for five of the busing programs and compulsory for one. The number of pupils involved in the busing program ranged from 110 to 1448. Black students involved varied from 110 to 760. School buses were the means of transportation in four programs; public transportation at school expense was utilized by one program and a combination of school buses and

public transportation was used in one program. Within each school district the sending schools varied from two to five in number as compared with two to eighteen receiving schools (Appendix E).

The teachers were prepared for the busing program by both orientation and special in-service training sessions. Parents were informed through the medium of orientation and special meetings. In one instance, a public hearing was held for parents; and in another situation, special meetings were arranged for parents from both the sending and receiving schools. Students were oriented to the program by special meetings, and trial bus runs with visits to the receiving school. The aides also served as attendants on the school bus and assisted the teacher by performing classroom and clerical duties.

Comments on the questionnaire and the usefulness of busing in equal educational opportunity programs were made by seven of the fifteen respondents:

1. The voluntary busing program has not been extensive enough to reverse the trend of de facto segregation.
2. Complete racial balance for the entire school district was not achieved. However 110 black children were helped.
3. Busing is costly and created more problems than it solves.

4. Money spent on busing is lost to education. Busing is least useful method of spending money to gain equal educational opportunity.
5. Busing should not be confined to a one-way plan, it should be a bidirectional program.
6. Busing of secondary students created negative connotations.
7. Open enrollment combined with a busing program resulted in racial balance for a high school that was two per cent Negro and a grade school which was formerly sixty per cent Negro.

Information about busing programs was of major interest to school administrators since thirteen of the fifteen respondents requested a summary of the study.

III. DESCRIPTION OF SELECTED PROGRAMS

Sufficient material for descriptive purposes was received from four of the six school districts which utilized busing in their equal educational opportunity programs. These school districts were located in Decatur, Illinois; Des Moines, Iowa; Waterloo, Iowa, and Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Decatur, Illinois. The problems of de facto segregation reached Decatur, Illinois during the 1950's. Its development resulted from the movement of white families from the city to the new suburban residential areas, and the migration of Negroes from the South to Decatur. In 1950 only one of the elementary schools had a percentage of Negroes as large as

twenty-five per cent. By 1960, two schools had passed the fifty-five per cent mark and three other schools were twenty-five per cent Negro. More significantly, eleven schools completely white--were beginning to form a white donut around the district. By 1966, four schools enrolled over seventy-one per cent of all Negroes in the Decatur elementary schools. Eight of nine schools built during 1969 had no Negroes at all. With the opening of two suburban junior high schools in 1967-68, racial imbalance was seen in the secondary schools.

In June, 1967, upon the recommendations of the superintendent and staff, a resolution was adopted by the board of education initiating a process to integrate by the Decatur schools. The board appointed a citizens study group, The Community Commission on Integration, to determine how the resolution was to be implemented. The Commission divided itself into five task forces:

1. In-Service Education of Staff
2. Community Relations
3. Organization of the School and Classroom
4. Organization for Instructional Improvement

The Commission was generally successful in its efforts. Several workshops for teachers were held. The number of Negro teachers on the certified staff was increased from seventeen to thirty-eight with one Negro principal. New attendance areas were designed to reduce racial imbalance and to achieve a balance behind high and low achieving

students. The elementary redistricting plan involved the compulsory busing of 760 black students and 688 white students from five sending schools to sixteen receiving schools.

The program was successful in that no elementary schools have more than twenty-seven per cent black students. An exception to this are two small elementary schools offering compensatory education which are sixty-one and fifty per cent black. Metropolitan readiness scores indicated that only thirty-four per cent of blacks attended school with more than twice as many low achieving students as high achieving students. In 1967, eighty-five per cent of blacks were in such schools. The program is funded by local tax money.¹

Des Moines, Iowa. In 1967, the Des Moines School Board adopted a policy of conducting an annual racial census as a tool for evaluating its program for eliminating de facto segregation. The first census revealed six schools to be more than forty per cent non-white. One of the schools was ninety-two per cent Negro. Only seven per cent of the total school population was Negro. In 1968 the School Board adopted a voluntary transfer plan entitled: "Equal Educational Opportunity Program." Funds under title I of the Federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act were used to finance a five day staff education program for some 150 teachers assigned to schools in the low income areas of the city.

The Equal Educational Opportunity Program was designed

¹"Elementary Redistricting Plan," Brochure Describing the Decatur, Illinois Busing Plan, (1969).

as a direct result of the final report and recommendations of the Special Citizens Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities. The committee presented its report to the Board of Education in July, 1968, following a year of intensive study of educational opportunities in the Des Moines Public School System. The program's objectives were:

- A. Raise the achievement standards (academic and cultural) of those children who live in neighborhoods where racial imbalance exists.
- B. End de facto segregation in the Des Moines Public School System.
- C. Provide all children with greater knowledge and experience about cultures and ethnic groups other than their own.

Students enrolled in grades one through six were eligible to participate in the program. Black students attending schools with a racial imbalance of fifty per cent black enrollment or greater were encouraged to attend schools in high achievement areas where the black population was fifteen per cent or less and the class size was thirty or less. White students attending the receiving schools and other schools in the district were encouraged to attend the leaving schools from which the black students transferred. A total of 241 black students were bused from five sending schools to fifteen receiving schools. Fifty white students were bused to one elementary school. After two years of the

busing program the participating schools became less segregated. Of the district's 3,500 black students, thirty-seven per cent now attend predominantly Negro schools compared with thirty-two per cent two years ago. A study of the academic achievement of the participants is presently being evaluated and was not available for this report. The program cannot be expanded since all of the available money (\$300,000) has been used. This three year program was supported entirely by local tax money.¹

Waterloo, Iowa. The Waterloo Public School System had a 1969 enrollment approximating 19,820 students. Some 2100 were black students, and constituted fifty per cent or more of the enrollment in one or more of the elementary schools.

In February, 1967, the Board of Education stated that:

Equality of educational opportunity requires that educational programs and resources must be designed and utilized to help every child overcome any handicaps, cultural, economic, physical, emotional, or mental.²

An advisory committee on Equal Educational Opportunity was appointed to study the growing racial imbalance in some schools and make recommendations for alleviating the situation. In January 1968 the committee recommended Open Enrollment with the entire school system open where space was available and where racial balance was improved, with

¹"Equal Educational Opportunity Program," Brochure Describing the Des Moines, Iowa plan, (1968).

²Ibid.

transportation at school expense.

The Open Enrollment Program began in September 1968 with the objectives of providing maximum educational opportunity to each child in order to teach people of different racial and economical groups to live and work together effectively and peacefully in a total community. It was also intended that a limited program of Open Enrollment would provide knowledge and experience on which to base next steps toward providing greater educational opportunity for each child. Approximately 170 black students from six sending elementary schools attended ten receiving elementary schools; and ten black tenth grade students were bused to one high school. In 1969, participation in the voluntary program increased to include 200 black students and 500 white students.

In addition to the district's Open Enrollment Program, the School Board approved plans for the Grant School Project, a magnet school which will open in September, 1970. Recruitment for the school will be on a city-wide basis. Plans call for team teaching, paired learning, increased library facilities, visual aids, consideration of a summer program, hot lunches, and bus transportation (Bridgeway Project).

In the 1968-69 school year, children from various areas of the city were brought together to share common educational and cultural experiences. The Cultural Explorations Program involved children from grades four, five, and six. These children of different economic and cultural backgrounds

participated in craft projects, chorus, band, orchestra, creative drama, science investigation and many other informal situations. A total of 10,000 separate participations were provided for approximately 4,300 children at a cost of \$1,411.57. Extensive participation by community groups made it possible to carry out the program at a minimum cost.

In August, 1969, a Human Relations Workshop was held which involved all of the professional staff of the Waterloo Community School System, along with forty to sixty lay citizens from the community. The workshop's philosophy was:

As educators we have the responsibility not only to provide opportunity for academic learning and to stimulate academic inquiry, but also to foster an appreciation of human dignity and the unique worth of each individual. As we strive for mankind identity, we realize that each cultural strand has a major contribution to make to society. It is imperative, therefore, that we learn to recognize and accept fully each other, and utilize all creative resources to open channels of communications for more sensitive positive human relations.¹

At one of the nine workshops, Dr. Neal Sullivan, Commissioner of Education for the state of Massachusetts, and an authority on achieving racial balance through busing, spoke to the participants on orientation and leadership roles in human relations.²

Minneapolis, Minnesota. In January, 1967, the Minnesota State Board of Education issued the following policy statement:

¹"Open Enrollment Plan," Brochure Describing the Waterloo Busing Plan, (1968).

²Ibid.

It is hereby declared to be the policy of the State Board of Education to encourage and assist each school board in the state of Minnesota toward achievement of racial balance in each school building of the district wherein it has been determined that racial imbalance exists. It is recognized that racial imbalance can be educationally harmful to both white and black children as it encourages prejudice and presents inaccurate pictures of life as pupils prepare to live and work in a multi-racial community, nation and world.

Racial imbalance exists in a school building when the number of black pupils enrolled is substantial. When this condition exists in any school building, it is incumbent upon the school board to take all reasonable steps to make adjustments in enrollment, thereby fulfilling its obligation to provide equally available educational opportunities and programs to all young people in the school district.¹

The Minneapolis Board of Education was in agreement with the State's philosophy, and adopted guidelines to implement the policy statement in December 1967. The School Board's long range goal was the achievement of racial balance by the use of The Special Transfer Program, adjustment of school boundaries, and by carefully selecting the locations for new school buildings. During the interim period, the school district utilized compensatory education within inter-city schools; began a Human Relations Center for staff development and in-service training; procured multi-ethnic materials, minority history instruction units; and established community workshops. Recruitment of minority group teachers and administrators for assignment to schools throughout the total city were also undertaken.

¹"Racial Balance Transfer Policy," Brochure Describing the Minneapolis, Minnesota Busing Plan (1967).

The Minneapolis Public Schools had a total enrollment of approximately 69,246 students in 1969. Black students numbered 5,318 and other minority groups accounted for 2,428 students. As of November 1966, twenty-five of the system's 100 schools educated twenty-five per cent of all students and ninety-one per cent of all minority students. The Special Transfer Program was designed to reduce racial imbalance and improve the overall conditions governing human relations in the Minneapolis Public Schools. A special transfer was granted to students if racial balance would improve in both the sending and receiving schools without resulting in overcrowding at the receiving school. An elementary school qualified for transfers out when the black student population reached twenty per cent of the total student body. A secondary school qualified for transfers out if the black students constituted ten per cent or more of its total student body. This voluntary busing program was utilized by approximately 427 minority group students. All except seventy-three students bused to elementary schools used public transportation to and from school. Upon certification of need, transportation costs were defrayed by the school district. The program was funded entirely by local funds.¹

¹Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

I. SUMMARY

The public school is a unique American institution created specifically to implement the fundamental American belief of equal educational opportunity. The United States Supreme Court's decision of 1954 and the United States Civil Rights Commission's Report of 1967 concluded that both legally enforced segregation and de facto segregation are detrimental to the educational opportunity of both races. Recent inner-city riots by young blacks, faced with hopeless life situations due to racism, lend evidence to the need for the beneficial interracial experiences and equal educational opportunity which only integrated schools can provide.

The purpose of this graduate project was to determine to what extent equal educational opportunity programs in Midwestern school districts utilized a student transportation or busing plan to achieve racial balance. Approximately twenty-five articles were found in the educational journals regarding busing as a means of achieving racial balance. Most of the articles were written after 1967. Newspapers and television reports were particularly useful as a source of current material on this topic.

Although the federal government does not prescribe methods for achieving racial balance, the National Education

Association and the American Association of School Administrators developed extensive policy statements and suggestions for creating integrated school districts. While long range plans for achieving racial balance were being implemented, compensatory programs were viewed as a basic need for the immediate future. Transportation of pupils of different races was supported, if needed, in order to create opportunities for beneficial interracial experiences.

Opinion polls indicated that more than two-thirds of the nation's educators and school board members were against busing for desegregation purposes. The opinions did not differ substantially by regions of the country. Urban, suburban, and rural respondents held similar views. Special studies of parental attitudes toward busing showed a more divided opinion with variations from community to community. White parents feared the lowering of educational school standards. Black parents were most concerned about loneliness caused by being bused to distant schools and the failure of the total experience to build their children's self-image.

Judging from the literature cited, cities under 200,000 appeared to have a better chance of success using the busing method to achieve racial balance. Berkeley, California and Hartford, Connecticut were most often used as examples of successful programs.

A descriptive study of equal educational opportunity programs utilizing the busing method was undertaken in states

comprising Region VI and VII of the United States Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The seventeen school districts in those Regions serving cities between 100,000 and 500,000 total population with five to ten per cent Negro were selected as the sample. Information and materials secured primarily through a mailed questionnaire provided data on all but one of the school districts selected for the sample.

De facto segregation existed in all but one of the school districts queried. Six of the sixteen responding districts utilized the busing method as a means of improving racial balance. Appropriate orientation and in-service training was provided for teachers, teacher-aides, parents, and students at the inception of the program. Most of the programs were voluntary and dependent upon local funds for support. Although busing by itself does not contribute directly to the child's education, money spent on busing represents a significant proportion of the per pupil cost.

II. CONCLUSIONS

After careful consideration of the available literature and the responses from the returned questionnaires, the following conclusions would seem justified:

1. De facto segregation is a problem in nearly all school districts of Regions VI and VII serving cities of 100,000 to 500,000 total population and five to ten per cent Negro.
2. Nearly half of these districts utilized a busing plan. The hypothesis that the majority of school

districts would be using the busing method is therefore not accepted.

3. Busing on a compulsory basis improved racial balance of an entire school district.
4. Busing on a voluntary basis has not reversed the trend toward increasing de facto segregation, but has improved racial balance in the participating schools.

III. RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations seem warranted by the data obtained in this study.

1. Greater emphasis should be placed on building community support for busing programs as a means of achieving racial balance.
2. State and federal funds should be made available and utilized for the development or expansion of busing programs.
3. Busing programs designed to achieve racial balance for an entire school district must be either compulsory or voluntary with a very high degree of participation.
4. Alternatives to busing which should be considered include Open Enrollment, Magnet Schools, Central Schools, Education Complexes and Parks.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
SCHOOL DISTRICTS SURVEYED

<u>City-State</u>	<u>Total City Population 1960</u>	<u>Black Population</u>
Decatur, Illinois Decatur Macon School Dist.	118,257	6,086
Evansville, Indiana Evansville Vanderburgh Dist.	199,319	13,037
Fort Wayne, Indiana East Allen Community Dist.	232,196	12,125
Muncie, Indiana Muncie Ind. School Dist.	110,938	5,882
South Bend, Indiana South Bend Community Schools	238,614	14,351
Des Moines, Iowa Des Moines Independent Schools	208,315 (1966)	10,899
Waterloo, Iowa Waterloo Public School System	122,482	6,077
Topeka, Kansas Topeka Shawnee Dist.	141,286	9,797
Wichita, Kansas Wichita Sedgwick Unified Dist.	343,231	21,159
Flint, Michigan Flint Public School System	374,313	36,990
Jackson, Michigan Jackson Public School System	131,994	7,485
Saginaw, Michigan Saginaw Public School Dist.	190,752	19,108
Minneapolis, Minnesota Minneapolis Hennepin Spec. Dist.	482,872	15,594
St. Paul, Minnesota Special School Dist. #2,615	313,411	9,317
Omaha, Nebraska Omaha Public School System	373,771	26,268

(Con't.)

APPENDIX A

(Con't.)

Akron, Ohio		
Akron Public School System	290,351	9,579
Canton, Ohio		
Canton Public School System	113,631	11,147

APPENDIX B

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY PROGRAMS UTILIZING THE BUSING METHOD
QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Are all the children in your district required to attend the school nearest their home? (neighborhood school plan)
 Yes
 No
2. What is the approximate enrollment of your school district? (latest estimate available)
 White
 Black
 Other (Indian, Oriental, Latin American, etc.)
3. Are there any elementary schools in your district with a black student enrollment of fifty per cent or more?
 Yes
 No
4. Does your school district offer a busing program either to provide equal educational opportunity or to alleviate de facto segregation?
 Yes (Please go on to question 5)
 No (Please skip to question 18)
5. When did your busing program begin? (Year) 19____
6. What is the specific name of your busing program--if it has a name?

7. What events led to the development of your busing program--if they can be described?
 - a. _____
 - b. _____
 - c. _____

8. What are the objectives of your busing program? (Check as many as are appropriate)

_____ To Increase the achievement of children who live in neighborhoods where racial imbalance exists.

_____ To provide all children with greater knowledge and experience with cultures and ethnic groups other than their own.

_____ To remove racial imbalance in the schools.

_____ Other (Specify)

9. How is your busing program funded?

<u>Sources</u>	<u>Approximate Percentage</u>
Federal Funds	_____ %
State Funds	_____ %
Local Funds	_____ %
Other (Specify)	_____ %

10. Is your busing transportation plan

_____ Compulsory:

_____ Voluntary?

11. Approximately how many schools are participating in your busing program?

_____ Number of schools sending children

_____ Number of schools receiving children

_____ Data not available

12. Approximately how many pupils are involved in the busing program?

_____ White

_____ Black

_____ Other

_____ Data not available

13. How are children transported to and from participating schools? (Check the one (s) that applies)

_____ School bus

_____ Taxicab

_____ Private Car

_____ Other (Specify) _____

14. What preparation were the inner city teachers given?

_____ Orientation

_____ Special In-Service Training

_____ Other (Specify) _____

15. If teacher-aides are used in the busing program, what are their duties? (Check as many as are appropriate)

_____ Act as attendant on school bus

_____ Perform clerical duties and assist classroom teachers.

_____ Act as liaison person between home and school

_____ Other (Specify) _____

_____ Not Used

16. If you bused to improve racial balance, how were the parents prepared for this program?

_____ Orientation

_____ Special Sessions

_____ Other (Specify) _____

17. How were the children prepared for their participation in the busing program?

_____ Orientation

_____ Special Sessions

_____ Other (Specify) _____

18. I would appreciate any comments that you may care to make regarding the usefulness of busing in equal educational opportunity programs:

IF PRINTED MATERIAL IS AVAILABLE DESCRIBING YOUR PROGRAM,
PLEASE ENCLOSE IT WITH THE COMPLETED QUESTIONNAIRE.

Thank you again for your patience and cooperation. If
you would like a summary of this study, please indicate
by checking the box: ☐

APPENDIX C

(COVER LETTER)

5002 S.W. 15th Street
Des Moines, Iowa 50315
October 17, 1969

Mr. Jack P. Taylor, Superintendent
Saginaw Public School System
425 S. Warren Street
Saginaw, Michigan 48603

Dear Mr. Taylor:

As a master's degree candidate in the College of Education at Drake University, my final assignment is to complete an original study of an important educational issue. Because of current interest in equal educational opportunity programs utilizing the busing method, I am collecting data for a descriptive study of these programs for selected cities in the Midwest. Saginaw is included in my sample.

I would appreciate your cooperation in providing information from the Saginaw Public School System for this study. The enclosed questionnaire for recording the data can be completed in approximately ten minutes time. The results will add greatly to our knowledge of how school districts are approaching this important area of concern. My self-addressed, stamped envelope is enclosed for your convenience in returning the questionnaire.

Thank you for your time and cooperation. A summary of this study will be available upon your request.

Sincerely yours,

Salina O. Conner

SOC/bca
Enclosure

APPENDIX D
(FOLLOW-UP LETTER)

5002 S.W. 15th Street
Des Moines, Iowa 50315
November 5, 1969

Mr. Jack P. Taylor, Superintendent
Saginaw Public School System
Saginaw, Michigan 48603

Dear Mr. Taylor:

Two weeks ago, you were asked to participate in a descriptive study of "Equal Educational Opportunity Programs" in Midwest School Districts. A copy of the questionnaire used is enclosed for your reference.

If you have already completed and returned your questionnaire, I am grateful for your assistance. If not, please do so at your earliest convenience. The validity and usefulness of this study depends upon your response.

Please indicate your progress by checking the appropriate place on the enclosed post card. Your cooperation is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Salina O. Conner

SOC/bca
Enclosure

APPENDIX E

INFORMATION SHEET OF DISTRICTS WITH BUSING PROGRAMS

SCHOOL DISTRICTS	DATE PROGRAM BEGAN	SCHOOL ENROLLMENT		NUMBER PUPILS INVOLVED		NUMBER SCHOOLS INVOLVED	
		W	B	W	B	SENDING	RECEIVING
Decatur Macon School District Decatur, Illinois	1969	17726	3416	688	760	5	16
Des Moines Independent School District Des Moines, Iowa	1968	42464	3585	50	241	5	15
Evansville Vanderburgh District Evansville, Indiana	1966	32000	2200	--	110	--	18
Minneapolis Hennepin School District Minneapolis, Minnesota	1967	61500	5318	--	427	--	4
Spec. School Dist. #2,615 St. Paul, Minnesota	1967	45669	2917	70	700	2	18
Waterloo Public School System Waterloo, Iowa	1968	17700	2100	200	200	4	8